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THREE LECTURES
ON
EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES & PRACTICE

BY

KULAPATI JAMES H. COUSINS, D. LIT.,

Principal of Madanapalle College.

Being public university extension lectures of the Osmania University, delivered in the Town Hall, Hyderabad, Deccan, on January 29, 30 & 31, 1935.

Education in Ancient and Mediaeval India.

The Place of Art in Education.

A Ground-plan for Future Education in India.

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Education in Ancient and Mediaeval India.

E enter on our study of education retrospective and prospective with a cheerful step across the graves of two superstitions: one, that what is old is therefore to be held in unquestioning reverence; the other, that what is old must therefore be held in unmitigated contempt. We see past and future as present the moment we bring them to mind. What is in them in achievement or imagination is eternally contemporaneous. There is no chronology in truth. Our calendars only celebrate our advance towards it. Past and future are as eligible as the present for questioning as to what they can yield of wisdom drawn from experience or speculation stimulated by present necessity. Where indeed, is the present that seems so tyrannously real to us? It disappears while we name its name.

The object, therefore, which I have set before myself in these lecture-studies on education is, first, to make a selective survey—not to give a historical account—of the principles and practices which prevailed in education in India in the past, and from this survey, critically considered, to draw a foundational ground-plan for the educational edifice of the future, making such exclusions and expansions as modern experience and judgment may consider necessary.

Our study implies inadequacy in the prevailing educational systems. Reams of magazine and newspaper articles have been written, and hours of convocation and other addresses spent, in criticism of present-day education. The dissatisfaction is world-wide. I do not propose to indulge here in criticism of a detailed kind, but rather by induction from the positive current of constructive energy, and in any event rather in relation to principles than to items connected with time-tables, teaching methods and the like. And I begin with the past because, though we may decline to recognise any authority in chronology, there may be a nearer approach to educational truth in the relative lack of sophistication and self-consciousness in past searches in education or anything else than is possible for us today. And there is a certain inspiration and pre-disposition in tradition that, wisely used, can intensify and enrich present effort. So, to our study.

The fundamental principle of education in India—Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim or other—was that the student is a spiritual entity, nominally separated from other similar entities and from the commonly shared universal life by limitations of personality, and sharing with all others an inherent urge to expand, raise, and ultimately transcend such limitations.

In other words; according to the Indian conception of the nature and destiny of the student, "all arts and sciences branched off from religious studies, and were gradually differentiated; but they were always helpful to the active religious life, and led to it....." *

The curricular material of education was therefore religious in substance and intention. It imparted knowledge, but as a means to social service and ultimate liberation of the higher nature of the individual from servitude to the lower. Education was therefore neither a process of cramming, nor of merely developing executive capacity, but of freeing the inherent spirit from the bonds of ignorance and incapacity. It became so regarded as a ceremonial of purification that the term for a graduate (*snataka*) meant one who had bathed, and one of the meanings of the title *guru* is purifier. "Having taken up the pupil that he may lead him to the Highest, the teacher shall impart the ways of cleanliness, purity and chastity of body, with good manners and morals. And he shall teach him how to tend the fires sacrificial and culinary, and, more important than all, how to perform his daily devotions."‡ Thus Indian education became a synthesis of purification—of the body by discipline, the faculties by instruction, the understanding by knowledge, the soul by contemplation.

Vedic and Buddhist education agreed with the Biblical valuation of cleanliness as "next to godliness." Purificative discipline was only second therefore to the spiritual purpose of education. "In the Vedic education, discipline was held of greater importance than study—that is, it was more important to be than to know."† This is perhaps why, when King Brahmadatta of Benares (as told in a Jataka, a story of one of the previous lives of the Buddha), sent his son to Taxila University, he said nothing about intellectual study, but sent the young prince where students went "to learn to quell their pride and self-will, and to endure extremes of temperature. and learn the ways of life." And as part of a discipline whose aim was spiritual liberation, the king gave

* "Indian Culture through the Ages" by S. V. Venkateswara, Vol. I, p. 89.
‡ 'The Story of Oriental Philosophy,' L. Adams Beck.
† 'Indian Culture.'

his son the outfit of a pair of single-soled sandals and a sunshade of leaves, together with a thousand coins—for his *guru*, not for himself.

Simpleness, austerity (in the sense of gravity and sobriety), and reverence were, as the *Dharmasastras* say, enjoined and practised. Strict rules of conduct, both in private and in company, were laid down. Hygienic wisdom forbade coughing or spitting in public. Sociological wisdom demanded regularity of activity, and service for others that inculcated respect for labour. Psychological wisdom, in the Buddhist era, anticipating modern psychology, utilised public confession as a complex-discharging expedient and means of contrition and reform in cases of transgression. Only on the rarest occasion was corporal punishment resorted to. Yet in all such discipline there was a sane regard for health, for in the college hostels good food and plenty of it was recommended, and no doubt supplied.

The spiritual ideal of education in ancient India applied to all. It was seen as a universal necessity, therefore as compulsory. But the compulsion was from within, not from externally dictated need, such as elsewhere led to education as a curb on the destructive tendencies of rudimentary man. Indian education did respond to social necessity, but in the direction of mutual help towards spiritual liberation. Its religious bias was not in the ordinary sense of the word bias, but an all-pervading trend in the nature of the student, towards the fulfilment of which the whole educational institution was oriented. To the student, education was, as we have seen, a process of purification: to the teacher it was a sacred vocation; and, this being so, it was naturally not only universally enjoined but generally free.

True, we read of various kinds of *guru dakshina* (teacher-fee): a sum of money paid at the beginning or end of studentship; alternatively, service to the teacher, such as collecting food from neighbours and firewood from the jungle; or payment after graduation. These fees applied to the universities. In the most remote centuries mass education was oral, not literate in the modern sense, but spiritual through religious teaching, and cultured through dramas, and both religious and cultural through the interaction of religion with art and art with religion. Later, say in the seventh century A. D., the spread of general schools (*vidyapiths*) by religious orders, and special schools of *mathums* (monasteries) and temples carried culture far and wide. Temple architecture, sculpture and festivals inculcated religious ideas, and the *vidyapithas* and *mathums* encouraged intellectual

speculation. Village schools grew in number, and village drama and recitals (*harikatha*) flourished. The monasteries of the Buddhist era were in effect not only religious centres but centres of education and craft-training. The caves of Ajanta, those amazing galleries of perfect painting and sculpture, were places for monsoon refresher-courses for monks who in the dry season carried the cultural influences of "the Great Enlightenment' across the land.

Vincent Smith* infers from the promulgation of the Emperor's edicts in rock-carvings that many people must have been able to read: he draws the same inference from their being in vernacular dialects. "It is probable," he adds, "that learning was fostered by the numerous monasteries, and that the boys and girls in hundreds of villages learned their lessons from the monks and nuns, as they do now in Burma from the monks. I think it likely that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Asoka's time was higher than it is now in many provinces of British India."

That a large if not the major part of educational activity in ancient India was gratuitous is evident from the records of royal bounty and of scholastic endowments by local bodies. Education was generously subsidised by the various rulers of ancient India. The statement in chapter two of the Hartog Report on Education in British India that the statutory provision of Westminster in 1813 of one lakh of rupees for education under the East India Company "was the first legislative recognition of the right of education to participate in the public revenues" is not a fact if the whole history of India, not merely of the East India Company, is taken into account. The grants to universities and other educational institutions from kings in ancient India were from public funds though autocratically administered.

The four successive universities built over one another at Nalanda in Bihar from 450 A. D. onwards were royally endowed, and attained such fame abroad that the King of Tibet in A. D. 750 sent an envoy to invite the Chief Priest of Nalanda to go to Tibet and bring about a revival in Tibetan Buddhism, then fallen into degeneracy.

The University of Vikramasila (also in Bihar) was founded by King Dharmapala in the ninth century A. D., and its degree of Pandit was conferred by successive kings until degeneration from the ancient Buddhist ideal, and deflection from pure learning into

* in 'Asoka'.

occult sensualism and from *ahimsa* into military partizanship (if history tells the truth), brought on it, in the twelfth century, as it brought on the other seats of learning in Bihar, the drastic purgation of sword and fire.

We have seen that the intention of ancient Indian education was religious: first, we may add, in the Vedic effort to bring spiritual quality and significance into all life, and later in the Buddhist effort to lift personal life to the spiritual level. It was a purification through discipline: it was for all without distinction. Let us amplify the latter feature.

Girls and women were conceded the same educational rights as boys and men, and in a number of outstanding instances appear to have taken advantage of them. Certain of the Vedic hymns are credited to women seers. In post-Vedic times a number of eminent women teachers emerged. A reference by Patanjali to a *saktiki* (translated spear-woman) would seem to indicate that martial arts were not confined to men. But the home was regarded as the special, indeed in practice the exclusive, school of womanhood ; and (to anticipate a lesson from educational history) the result of treating the feminine half of humanity as exclusively female has been as detrimental to Indian women and to India as a whole as would be the treating of the masculine half of humanity as exclusively male: indeed that is probably the clue to the present state of the world. Between vision and its fulfilment in life the distortions and limitations of personality interpose, and the vested interests of sex and selfishness weight the scales of life in their own favour. But to education there is no more drastic distinction between men and women than between a man-artist and a man-scientist. The educable entity is first a human being with certain needs and faculties in common with all other human beings, and having a right to human education, with such secondary differentiation as sex, temperament, genius or circumstance may require. Ancient India conceded the right: modern India has begun to put it into practice.

On the social side no distinction was made between the various groups of the Aryan community. All studied together, Brahmans sometimes learning the Kshattriya art of archery. The Buddhist Reformation did not spring from a single personality: it came out of the descent of Brahminical observances into mere routine and the simultaneous ascent of Upanishadic ideas. There was no separation between the main Vedic tradition and a reformation of certain of its elaborations. Brahmanas and Sramanas lived and studied together. But the non-Aryan Chandalas were kept

outside,—a social error from which India has suffered through the ages, but from which she is likely to free herself before long.

In the forest life of Vedic India, with scattered groups in large areas, education was on a small and intimate scale around a teacher. But time brought increase in numbers and enlarging organizations, until India achieved educational centres rivalling in extent and development the universities of today, and situated away from the distractions of city life. Taxila in the Punjab was not a single college, but a great university combining a number of colleges: a College of Medicine, of Law, for example. Nalanda, on the other hand, was a unitary university working under the mottoes: "Conquer anger by pardon, a bad man by good deeds, a miser by gifts, a liar by truth," and "*Dharma* and *adharma* cannot yield the same fruits: *adharma* (wrong action) drags one to hell; *dharma* (right action) leads one to heaven": utterances which are paraphrases of the Biblical saying on the advisability of returning good for evil, and the impossibility of simultaneously serving God and Mammon; also indicating a response to the need of education of emotion, action and thought. There were also special colleges for Brahmans and Kshatriyas together, and one for princes only. Benares, which as a cultural centre was largely created by graduates of Taxila, had a special school of music.

Many references to schools of five hundred students indicate this number as the generally approved roll of a college under a famous *guru*, with assistants (*pitthiacharya*) promoted from among his own senior students and therefore calculated to perpetuate the educational tone of the master. Different rankings of teachers developed. The *acharya* was a spiritual guide who took no fees. The *guru* imparted moral instruction and the general curricular studies, and took no fees. There were coaches (*upadhyaya*) who, somewhat against the general opinion, took fees. Ability was the first qualification for a teacher, with heredity as a recommendation.

From the Rig Veda and certain Upanishads we can construct the Vedic ideal of the teacher. He must be blameless in character, orderly, balanced, courageous, gentle, strong, pure in speech, simple in habit, charitable, cheerful, optimistic, of good address, sympathetic, learned. It is interesting to note that the capacities of a teacher, according to Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, were *smaraka*, *varaka* and *dharaka*, reminding, keeping pure and retaining.* This implies an expectation of similar capacities in

* "Indian Culture."

the students: the capacity of responsiveness to what the teacher brings to mind, of reverence for what he is reminded of, and of retention of it. And here we may summarise also the ancient Indian ideal student. He should be, in the Vedic idea, thoroughly disciplined: calm, peaceful, enduring, austere, well-conducted, earnest in both the desire for knowledge and its pursuit. He should not, however, be a scholastic bigot, mistaking school-study for the whole of education, for, as Manu declares, only a quarter of one's learning comes from the teacher: the other three quarters come from himself, his fellows and life. He must also be a free man—free from disease, from servitude, from debt and from duty.

To the collegiate educational facilities summarised above the student was admitted at the age of sixteen only after a searching entrance examination; and it is stated by scholars that, so emphatic was ancient Indian education on admitting to the so-called higher studies only such students as were fitted for them by character, capacity, heredity and home-surroundings * that between seventy and eighty per cent of candidates for admission were rejected—a provocative ninth century suggestion to the Indian universities of the twentieth century. Those who gained entrance either became scholars for life or teachers, or were drafted after graduation into public service, for which deliberate provision was apparently made. Travel was recommended as a measure of cultural expansion between leaving college and entering on life's work. There were no final examinations in either ancient or mediaeval Indian education. To have lived and studied with a *guru* was enough.

Bearing in mind the basic spiritual intention of ancient Indian education, and the conception of the educable entity as a spiritual being seeking control over its instruments and over its expression and realization of its essential nature through them, let us now gather up the chief elements of ancient Indian pedagogics.

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad* the story is told of how the student Bhrigu, at the instigation of his father, Varuna, successively discovered what the nature of Brahma was not, and ultimately what it was and is. The story epitomises the whole process of education from ignorance to illumination, and indicates that the heuristic or self-finding method was known and applied in ancient India. Bhrigu found for himself in successive stages that the real nature of things was not to be found in

* 'Indian Culture,' page 132.

substance, or energy, or mental processes, but in the cosmic bliss underlying the manifested universe.

This self-educating method calls, all the same, for creative and constructive guidance of youth's search through the media of its own endowment of capacity for receiving knowledge and transmuting it into understanding and expression. Certain hymns in the Rig Veda utter the pedagogical truth that the natural impulses of children should not be suppressed but guided. Ancient Indian psychology may not have known that it was so highly scientific a matter as psychology; but it did know that release of the growing tensions in youth was the sure way to self-mastery and true expression of the true self. Three creative ways of release from the tyranny of bodily demands are indicated: (1) The way of diverting energy, that might degenerate into sensuality, into absorbing physical or mental activity, and thus keeping it free, for all concessions to sense are degrees of enslavement: this was the way of Manu; the way of discipline, which superficially may seem to be a restriction of personal action, but in effect is the true way to liberation: (2) The way of withdrawal of attention from the objects of sense, and thus of establishing subjective control over the instruments of the ego: this was the way of Veda Vyasa and the "Bhagavad Gita:" (3) The way of expression through art crafts. We shall consider this third way of liberation more particularly when we consider the ancient Indian curricula of studies. Here it will suffice to say that the Vedic idea of art was not far removed from the most modern idea; for in the 'Sukraniti' (IV, 3, 189, 199, 200) we are told that knowledge of any work used in such a way as to please somebody was regarded as an art; while the Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford has just defined a Fine Art as one that must please and may serve, and a useful art as one that must serve and may please.* And we may add that ancient Indian aesthetics was so clear in its knowledge of the neurotic and erotic, as well as the psychical, effects of art-activity that the 'Anugita' forbade music to adults because of its erotic stimulus.

Indian pedagogics regarded education as the culture of human capacity. It admitted specialization, but not as an end in itself. "Whatever the branch of specialization, the Humanities formed a compulsory and almost universal study throughout life."‡ In the special education laid down for princes and leaders in the *Arthasastra*, while the distinctive function of the students is attended to, their education is broad-based and varied. "Specialization was the efflorescence of culture, springing up spontaneously,

* 'Fine Art,' H. S. Goodhart-Rendel.

‡ 'Indian Culture.'

not laboriously built up by training."† This is a point of the utmost value as a carry-over into the education of the future.

In the carrying out of the education outlined above, both professorial exposition and tutorial supervision were practised. The problem of the linguistic medium of instruction is not a new one today. It goes back to the sixth century before Christ, if not further, for it is on record that the Buddha insisted on the vernaculars as the medium for the impartation of the new law (*dharma*) instead of Sanskrit. There was continual intimate interchange between teacher and student. Early mornings were given to private revision and preparation. Memorising was the chief method of learning, but not to the deprivation of intelligent understanding of the subject approached. Objective observation was used in science, though it is held by some that both science and history were stultified by the common search for spiritual unity beyond the objective actualities of the physical universe and human life.

Ancient Indian education did not cease with graduation. The *Dharmasastras* (II, 2, 5, 15) indicate provision for adult education, for they tell us that when a householder (*grihasta*, after studentship) was lacking in any kind of knowledge, he could return to his *guru* for instruction - but only as an extern student, for *brahmacharya* (celibacy) was strictly insisted on in both Vedic and Buddhist education ; and the married student, though not denied education, could not receive it with the concentration and continuity of the residential *brahmacharin*.

We are now in a position to compile the ancient Indian curricula of studies ; and it will give us a certain amount of encouragement in our subsequent lay-out of a modern curriculum if we separate the Vedic and Buddhist curricula so as to show certain changes that were brought about by passing time and developing circumstances. And here we may note that curricular studies were time-tabled to suit the needs of the students, those receiving education in return for day-service to the school being given instruction in night classes.

Putting together the various curricular items gathered by recent scholars, we have the following subjects in the Vedic era : Religion (in scriptural study); Philosophy; Science—applied psychology in *yoga*, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, acoustics as connected with music and therefore of the nature of art, metallurgy which we may take as connected with vocation. These subjects, placed on a ground-plan of education

† 'Indian Culture.'

such as we shall lay down in our next study (including religion and art on the side of the emotions, philosophy and science on the side of the intellect, and sociological and vocational studies), are seen to indicate a stretch towards an all-round education, but also show certain inadequacies.

The long history of Indian art-crafts implies their study theoretical and practical; but this was carried on in special schools and evolved the *silpasastras* (rules of craft technique.) Art criticism, such as has only recently arisen in India, does not seem to have affected the practice of the art-crafts. But general education made a clear distinction between *vidya* (knowledge) and *kala* (application of knowledge), and in both exhibited readiness to learn from other countries such as Greece and later from Persia. With the art-crafts would go the vocations other than professional and clerical: they were outside the universities of old, but will be integral activities of the universities of the future.

Buddhist education, as followed in the great universities already mentioned, gives us the following curriculum: Religion (studied in the *Vedas* and *Jatakas*); Philosophy (metaphysics and logic); Science (medicine, and a development of what may be called occult sciences—charms and spells for raising the dead, prophesying and divining for acquisition, interpreting animal speech, tantrikism); grammar on the side of expression hence connected with art; elephant lore, hunting and archery which connect with vocation.

Ancient scriptures speak of eighteen *silpas* (arts) being taught, but I have not been able to make out a clear list of them. Bhartrihari in 'Nitisataka' gives the essentials of a true education as *sahitya* (literature), *sangita* (music), and *kala* (art), an excellent cultural foundation. Buddhist education set such a cultural value on craft-skill that persons having no art at their command were looked down upon. A *Jataka* (351) tells of a prince who was apprenticed to a potter, a horticulturist and a cook—thus learning three crafts combining beauty and utility. It was even reported by Strabo (XV, 54) that craft-skill was so valued in India that he who caused a craftsman to lose a hand or eye was liable to lose his head. And from the same foreign observer we learn a fact that ought to be presented to the Disarmament Conference by the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations, viz: that the only crafts which could not be learned from private teachers were the building of ships and the making of armour, for the ship-builders and armourers worked for the king alone (XV, 46): private exploitation of implements of warfare was not permitted. We may note also that image-making was a state

industry in the Mauryan era, and the *Arthasastra* informs us that, even in its remote era, (321 B. C.) the Government had a monopoly of salt-making.

Vocational education and practice would seem to have fallen on evil days through the appearance of intellectual schisms and encroachments from abroad. In its latest phases Buddhist education fell far below the ancient search for subjective reality, "for what is hidden even from the Gods."* It became mixed up with practices that led it into magical and sensual diversions which dissipated its energy, broke its spiritual and intellectual integrity, slackened its concentration, softened its fibre, and left it an easy prey to virile antagonistic forces.

The absence of such studies as we now call sociological may suggest a mere individualism in ancient Indian education. This would be an error. The fact is that the fulfilment of individual *dharma* was, as it ever must be, impossible without group help and group repercussions. This began in the joint family system in which the student had his first experience of hostel life. There he learned how to live with others; and developed through householdership (*grihasta-asrama*) to social service (*vanaprastha-asrama*), beyond which lay the still larger group experience of unity with the cosmic life. The stages of educational development were the individual, the human and the universal. Its beginning and end were spiritual, and its middle stage could not be otherwise. Religious study was primal, paramount, perpetual. It "was based on the principle that there is an infinity of force pent up in the human soul, and that it is made kinetic by degrees by dwelling on omnipotence; and that the best and easiest passport of success, even in this world, is to keep in line with cosmic forces."†

Thus the individual and the total were constantly associated in ancient Indian education; and the way from "this" to "That" was through "them." What was good for the individual was good for all; evil was evil. It is an illuminating circumstance that, while the *Kamasastras* were concerned with self gratification they did not include sex as a means to that end. This function was given its proper place, according to the Indian idea, in the *Dharmasastras* because sex was regarded not as means of personal gratification but as a social matter since its true purpose was beyond the individual.

I turn now to a short consideration of Mussulman education in India, not, however, under the erroneous assumption that the

* 'Rig Veda' I, 164, 5 and 6.

† 'Indian Culture.'

natural process of education becomes essentially different under different religious or cultural sponsorship. Education is a universal experience, no different in Chicago and Samarkand. But it is also true that the satisfying of the universal need of education is certain to show local and chronological differences of expression, and a study of these may lead to useful extensions and adaptations of educational technique.

Education as expressed in Vedic India before 500 B. C. and in Buddhist and Hindu India after that time, was developed indigenously. Muslim education had its beginning beyond India, and brought into India gifts of experience abroad and of relatively modern ideas and ways. It developed side by side with the indigenous education, and ultimately, as did the distinctive painting brought from Persia to India as accompaniments of Mussulman conquest, became so intimately domiciled in India that, notwithstanding certain interesting surface differences and certain disturbances to indigenous education, it became a true Indian cultural product.

Until recently it has been difficult to get close to the reality of education in Mussulman India. Ordinary history has so persistently yielded to the appetite for melodrama that it has not had much time, if it has had the secret inclination, to give keen attention to the history of human culture. Yet the record of State activities that ultimately become eligible for inclusion in the talkie-theatre is no more the full history of individual, state or empire than the record of a city's police-court is a record of the city's life. Plain reason would assume education behind the arts and crafts of Mussulman India that have entranced the art-world, and research within the last twenty years has justified reason.*

History sees to it that we know that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in Afghanistan (A. D. 1000-1026) destroyed numerous schools on his forays into India. From this fact the world concludes that Sultan Mahmud had no great affection for schools. But recent studies of his career indicate that his antipathy was only against certain schools, for he was a generous patron of education at home, a founder and endower of schools and colleges.

Muslim cultural history, in fact, when one dissects it from the more sensational and theatrical history in which unregenerate humanity finds pleasure, is rich not only in records of immortal achievements in the arts but in the less emphatic though not less important matter of endeavour through education to help human individuals to become artists in life.

* 'Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule.' (By Muhammadans), By Narendra Nath Law.

A few instances of such educational richness are all we need invoke for our special enquiry as to the principles and practices of education in ancient and mediaeval India.

Sultan Muhamud Tughlaq (1325-1351) not only patronised education but was himself a student of medicine, astronomy, mathematics and logic. Sultan Firuz (1351-1388) built and endowed colleges of the first rank. A description of the Madrasa of Firuz at Firuzabad indicates the ideal of an educational institution held by a fourteenth century Mussulman king and his architectural and academical advisers. The buildings of the school were beautiful; they were situated in well-planned gardens containing a tank. Teachers and students resided together in constant intellectual communion; and there was accommodation for casual visitors. Religious and general education went on together. Hindu books were translated and studied. The needs of staff and students were provided by the State; also the technical training of slaves presented to the Sultan. The Sultan himself took a keen interest in the restoration and preservation of Buddhist archaelogical remains, even as His Exalted Highness the Nizam, through his Government, preserves the great gallery of Ajanta, and exquisite Sanchi of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka is guarded from decay by the Mussulman rulers of Bhopal State.

Lesser monarchs as regards territory were no less educationally minded. Mahmud Shah (1387) founded an orphanage school in the Deccan, and saw to it that the inmates had not only free maintenance but the best available instruction.

Shah Ibrahim Sharqi (1400—1440) of Jaunpur founded so many educational institutions, and so completely relieved their residents from material necessity, that his kingdom came to rival imperial Delhi in fame in literature and the arts. His daughter-in-law, Bibi Raji, built a college and monastery and provided for its upkeep.

Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Gulkandah (Golconda) was a liberal patron of education. He caused to be built in the city of Haidarbad (Hyderabad), the Chahar Minar whose minarets, 220 feet high, contained living quarters for college students and their teachers, thus carrying on, as other Mussulman rulers did, the Indian tradition of mutual life in education.

Mussulman kings and princes themselves became students, and included Hindu culture in their intellectual interests. Muslim literary education intermingled as freely with Hindu literature as Mughal painting with Rajput painting. Hindu classics were translated into Persian, and as a consequence Persian culture

influenced Hindu culture. Thus the spirit of the post-Vedic age was kept alive, when Brahmans made exposition of Buddhism without ceasing to be Brahmans, even as today Hindus of my own acquaintance are reverent exponents of Islam.

In the reign of Akbar the Great (1566--1605) we find education in the Mussulman era in India at its most complete development. The predecessors of the Mughal Emperor had bequeathed him outstanding examples to live up to in both personal and organised educational activity. His grandfather, the Emperor Babar, the founder of the dynasty, had invented a new style in verse and also in calligraphy. He was the author of a legal work, and in his memoirs showed himself a scholarly and acute critic. His father, Shah Humayun, was a student of astronomy and geography, and in revising the social organization of his expanding empire he placed the scholar next but one to the emperor in dignity.

Akbar Shah's universality of interest places him among the great figures of the world, and his interest naturally included education, and with his characteristic inclusiveness. He sought to have education given to all classes of his subjects. Hindus were to be educated on the same level as Mussulmans, and in their own culture. This led to mutual respect. The Emperor's great Dewan, Abul Fazl, in his Life of Akbar (' Ain-i-Akbari '), describes the Hindus as "religious, affable, cheerful, just, retiring, business-like, truthful, grateful, faithful, courageous," from which catalogue of virtues we may deduce the qualities in human nature on which an eminent Mussulman set the highest value, and note as significant that the quality of religious aspiration comes first.

Akbar founded numerous schools and colleges for both resident and day students. With his encouragement private schools under single teachers spread. These provided for the teaching of the arts and crafts not included in the colleges, and also for the higher study of college subjects.

Under Akbar's successors educational endowments and activities continued. In the reign of Shah Jahangir it is said,* there were schools in every village and town. The teachers of the colleges at Delhi and Agra were appointed by Shah Jahan.‡ With the reign of the Emperor Aurungzeb the expansive educational policy ceased.

* Muhamad Sadiq in ' Tabaqat '.

‡ ' The History of Shah Jahan of Dihli ', by B. P. Saksena, 1932

Mussulman education (that is, education not specifically for Mussulmans, but education for a mixed population under Muslim rule) was, as we have noted, at its most inclusive stage in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and therefore at that stage it presents to us the largest selection of educational ideas to stimulate our thought on the educational reconstruction necessary today.

We can visualise the educational situation of an era or a region most accurately, I think, through its curriculum of studies, for these reflect both the practical uses to which imparted education is put, and the idea, consciously or unconsciously held, as to the nature of the educable individual and his educational needs. The latter is the crucial test of educational wisdom. If the view of the nature of the student is inadequate, so will be the education given to the individual. That view is, as we shall see in our later study, far from adequate today. But the intuition of completeness which had made itself felt in Vedic and Buddhist India, was still more fully responded to in Mussulman India, as we can see in its curriculum which we summarise as follow: Religion (described by writers as divinity); Philosophy (natural philosophy, that is, philosophy based on science; logic); Science (mathematics, geometry, longimetry, physics, economics, and quasi-scientific geomancy); History and Government (the exterior and interior aspects of human organization); Agriculture and Accountancy, which are vocational studies.

In this curriculum of studies in Mussulman India over three centuries ago we observe the continuation of the religious, philosophical and scientific elements included in the older curricula. But these elements were not all regarded as having the same educational value. Religion was the root of all study. What has been written of Vedic education, as already quoted, may be written of Muslim education: "All arts and sciences branched off from religious studies, and were gradually differentiated; but they were always helpful to the active religious life, and led to it." This does not mean the theological censorship of artistic expression or scientific discovery: it means the lifting of expression and research to the level of spiritual aspiration, idealism and reverence – an elevation tragically needed today when art is so largely the voice of the siren of sensuality, and science not merely a follower but the leader of human destructiveness and homicide. Here we have a fundamental indication from the past as regards religion in education. Nothing seems to be more certain than that the segregation of religion from education is the prime cause of religious animosity in India, as elsewhere. When religion and education were one in India, that is, when education was in

fact religion, there was mutual respect between the religions. Sir Akbar Hydari pointed out in an important address at Poona (September 7, 1934) on the "Ideals of Moslem Education" that the Hindu Peshwas respected the sacred places of the Moslems, and Moslem Shahs respected the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. Scholarship based on aspiration rises above bigotry. We shall see in our next study the value of this suggestion from the past to the future.

In the Mussulman curriculum, on the mental side, science appears to have had more attention than philosophy ; yet the needs of the mind were recognised, and it is for us to consider the inadequacy or otherwise of the provision thus made for the development of the contemplative faculty of humanity, of which philosophy is the expression, and of the observative faculty, of which science is the expression. We shall do so in our next study.

The inclusion of the study of government shows that the subject had moved from the princely specialization of the *Artha-sastra* towards the participation not only of delegate Governors but of the governed ; a movement towards a future still before us, when a clear understanding of the actualities of organized human relationships, side by side with a realization of the spiritual nature and destiny of humanity, will bring a balance of stability and progress into human affairs.

We have seen that the arts and crafts were taught in special schools, not in the collegiate curricula. The separation seems to imply that artists and craftsmen did not need to be informed or to have their thinking powers developed. Education even today is not free from the same implication.

And now, with the foregoing digest of ancient and mediaeval Indian principles and practice in education before us, we may proceed to lay out the foundation plan of the education of the future.

A Ground-Plan for Future Education in India.

OUR study of education retrospective and prospective does not require a detailed account of the decline of indigenous educational principles and practices in India from the close of the mediaeval period (the end of the seventeenth century) until today, and the gradual rise of what is known officially as "English education." From the criticisms of general education in India that have been made with heartening frequency recently one could compile a rather gruesome charge-sheet of both positive and negative educational crime—but the object of these studies is constructive, not merely critical.

Something has begun to happen in education in India as regards its curricular material, when the Academic Council of the University of Madras (August 1934) discussed the question of introducing a Kathakali (a form of drama peculiar to the Malayalam country) into a syllabus of vernacular study, and the making of home science an optional subject in the education of girls. Something containing promise has happened also in the governmental sense of educational responsibility measured by a graph beginning with one lakh of rupees budgetted for education in British India by the East India Company under compulsion from Westminster in 1814, and reaching a little over a century later to nearly seventeen crores budgetted under compulsion of a people's spiritual and vocational necessity.

This is all to the good; though not quite as good as the figure on a bill-board on a roadside in California which caught my attention three years ago by its declaration, as an inducement to settlers, that sixty per cent of the revenue of the State went to the education of their children. Moreover, 17 crores spent on the education of a population of 27 crores is 10 annas per head, whereas the city of London spends the same amount on less than half a crore of population, or Rs. 40 per head.

In numbers too it is well to remember that while the total of children and seniors in schools and colleges is eleven millions, a rise from four millions thirty years previously, the percentage of scholars in the total population is a mere 4½—while Japan is educating almost 100% of its eligible population.

I mention these facts in order to indicate that, as far as education in India is concerned, we have at present, as a simultaneous challenge and encouragement, the two main constituents of any kind of progress—the need of movement, and a certain amount of observable movement which, by persistent shoving on our part, may be accelerated.

Our survey of the educational principles and practices of India before, in the working out of human inter-relationships, extraneous influences deflected and disintegrated them, was not made with the object of assessing the relative values of their various presentations as Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim systems, with a view to making any one of them a model of the education of India in the future. That would be, at the present stage of human progress, entirely futile.

Despite the portents of murderous separations between nations today there is an observable movement in human culture in the direction of world-unity. There are certain functions and needs common to humanity in all times and places; and thinkers the world over are now endeavouring to have these human universals recognised and co-ordinated with a view to eliminating unnatural antagonisms in principles and practice and unnecessary waste in organization and administration. In the material relationships of humanity there is an intensifying effort to adjust world needs and local needs, otherwise called international trade and home industry. In the spiritual relationships of humanity efforts are being made to move emphasis from doctrinal accidents to common essentials in order that the ideal impulses of humanity may cease debilitating one another by sectarian animosities and may join in a common struggle against the vulgarising and sensualising influences that are threatening humanity with dethronement of reason and control, and consequent reversion to a worse state than unsophisticated savagery.

In the educational world a similar search is afoot. Natural education—that is, an inevitable growing response to the impacts of life—is the common experience of all humanity; and since such response is dominated in unregenerate human nature by personal desire which tends towards exclusiveness and social disintegration, deliberate education— that is, a wise guidance of human capacity towards fulfilment that is satisfactory to the individual and helpful to the community— is an inevitable need of all humanity. Education is a perpetually contemporaneous process. Yet its contemporaneousness is not an accumulating

load on the shoulder of progress. It is, rather, a moment of balance between past experience and future need, between group history and group ideal. No effort in the so-called present can be made without reference to the so-called past and cognizance of the so-called future. Only between a true knowledge of past effort and a true vision of future needs lies the wisdom and adventure that make the passing moment called the present happy and rich. We have epitomised the most important elements of education in the past in India. We shall now endeavour to lay out a ground-plan on which may conceivably arise the educational edifice of the future.

Three needs are felt by educators today: the need of a true understanding of the essential nature and purpose of education—that is, a philosophy of education; the need of knowledge, as complete and as systematic as possible, of the educable individual, and of individual and group response to educational impacts—that is, a science of education; the need of an application of such philosophical understanding and such scientific knowledge by ways and means calculated to bring out the finest results—that is an art of education.

"Education is primarily an art," wrote an American student of education* "It can become a science only as it grounds itself upon universal principles, applicable to all individuals alike, deduced from the sciences of man, the educable being."

I do not think it is either necessary or desirable that education should become a science, though it is very necessary that it should become scientific, that is, that education produces its own science. Neither do I think education should become a philosophy, though it badly needs to become philosophical. I have occasionally been provoked into wishing that educators would make education a religion; but I am prepared to be satisfied if, in addition to making it philosophical and scientific, they make it religious by applying themselves to it in the spirit of idealistic devotion and drawing idealistic devotion both to education and to life out of their students.

The three felt needs which I have mentioned are not three separate specializations, but three essential aspects of one function—the philosophical, scientific and practical aspects of the function of education. The needed philosophy and science of education can only be derived from education: they cannot be

* Dr. H. H. Horne, 'The Philosophy of Education'

derived from philosophy and science as such, " deduced from the sciences of man. " They cannot be made the pastime of a philosopher, even though he be, like Herbert Spencer, a son of a teacher and himself a brief assistant master; or of a scientist, even though he be, like Thomas Henry Huxley, the son of an assistant public-school-master. Education is a living, inclusive, ever-present necessity. It cannot wait on the adjustments of philosophical premises or scientific hypotheses, any more than the clerical necessities of commerce can wait on the discoveries of pure mathematics. The educator has always at hand his complete educational premise in the living human being who has to be educated. About that premise the educator cannot know too much; though he *can* know more than enough of educational theorizings and pedagogical experimentation.

Once upon a time educational theory in the West was strong on what should be taught. Later it was strong on how to teach, on education as an art, as quoted above. Recently there has come into educational thought the idea that purely adult notions as to what and how youth should be taught are perhaps secondary to what the educable entity itself feels that it needs in the way of education. Educationists are beginning to wonder, with a certain wistfulness, what the world of human relationships would be like if, instead of taking it as an inevitable affair to whose assumed demands youth should be moulded, youth were allowed to recreate the world according to its own felt necessities. It is thought that such a recreated world might be a possible improvement on things as they are: it could hardly be much worse and remain a world: it would at least be a change. Hence the swing in experimental educational institutions towards autonomous education, that is, towards greater freedom in education, on the principle that education should be made for the student, not the student for education. Herein, I believe, lies educational salvation—and herein also lies a grave danger.

The question is—not what to teach, or how to teach, but whom to teach? On the answer to the question as to the nature and needs of the educable individual will hang the curriculum that will answer those needs, and also the acceptable technique of its impartation. A fallacious or inadequate view of human nature will take future education nowhere; rather, it will intensify whatever is wrong in education by adding to it the stimulus of a concession to human desire.

For example—and putting the matter in an extreme form in order to bring out its significance—supposing it was decided by

some highly modern educational authority that, since youth has a strong desire to go to sensational talkies, sensational talkies were therefore a fundamental need of youth, and a daily sensational talkie-hour was made compulsory in school and college time-tables: the result would be a degeneration of the personal and social morale of the students through the deprivation and discouragement of finer stimuli and interests, and a dulling of the capacity to respond quickly and intelligently to the normal, sane, uplifting impacts of life through the insensitiveness that all over-use of any capacity brings about.

The educational safeguard against such individual degradation and its disastrous possibilities in the general life is the setting free of the latent higher capacities of the individual in order that they may, by interaction, preserve each other from the defects of their qualities—thought from being too coldly mental, feeling from being too warmly emotional, action from being unwise or callous. "Invasions of the spirit by the logical faculty, and of the intellectual sphere by the soul, are both necessary to our higher welfare however distinctly specialised our work may become," said Professor Speight very wisely in a recent lecture in Secunderabad*. Education must, in short, be applied to the whole capacity-endowment of the educable individual; it must in the words of Pestalozzi, "consist in a continual benevolent superintendence with the object of calling forth all the faculties that providence has implanted" in the individual.

What is this capacity-endowment? We might attempt an answer to the question through a direct appeal to our own knowledge of ourselves and of one another—though it is amazing how wrong-headedly human beings can misinterpret themselves and misjudge their fellows. But it will help us to clarify the matter in our minds if we approach it by way of a consideration, necessarily only indicative, of past efforts towards educational completeness in India.

Our survey, in our first study, of the educational principles and practices of ancient and mediaeval India showed us that the curriculum of subjects included—religion as permanent, arts and crafts as vocational, philosophy, science, and the beginnings of sociological study. This curriculum recognised the aspirational element in human nature, likewise the creative-expressional element, the contemplative, the inquisitive, and the associative. It covered the whole of human necessity for education—emotional

* 'Thoughts on Education and the Modern World,' September 21, 1934'

necessity, mental necessity, and experiential necessity. But while Indian educational thought reacted intuitionally to the needs of generic Man, historical circumstances did not give it time to elaborate its intuition into a complete meeting of the educational needs of the individual, every individual. The intention was obviously there. It is, I believe, our duty today to try to understand that intention, and to help to justify the past of the race by doing what we can to fulfil it. There are racial complexes as well as individual complexes that must be discharged through fulfilment by sublimation into ideal action if humanity is to find liberation from its inner bondages and thus find peace.

Akbar the Great is credited by history with the vision of a synthesis of education applied to all his subjects. The story of Bhrigu in the 'Taittiriya Upanishad', referred to in our first study, was the Vedic anticipation in metaphysical terms of the Emperor's vision. Indeed the entire Upanishad is a document of the highest value in educational psychology, for it yields to rational questioning a statement of the purpose, the technique and the curricular material of education. We can only deal with it very summarily here.

The story is of a youth who desired to discern the real from the unreal, the true student. His father first instructed him to the effect that the very means of his search for reality (food, energy, the senses, the mind and speech) were themselves reality, being products of reality (personalized in the Upanishad as Brahman). The youth put himself under discipline, and through discipline came to the realization that substance is reality. But this did not seem to be the whole of the matter, and he repeated his request to his father for further instruction as to the nature of reality. His father answered that he should desire to know reality by discipline, for it also is reality: and, as Sri Sankaracharya says in his commentary on the Upanishad, "it is well known in the world that of all aids to the attainment of eternal objects, discipline" (sometimes translated "penance" which injects a false idea of melancholy austerity into the translation) "is the most excellent aid." This discipline Sri Sankara defines as "concentration of the mind and the senses," that is to say, control of one's inner and outer instruments of action, as distinct from uncontrolled expenditure of one's powers, which leads to impoverishment and decay.

By discipline, the story proceeds, the youth realized successively that energy is reality, but not the whole of it, that mind is

also reality, that knowledge (that is, direct mental experience and enrichment) is reality. Finally he realizes, by discipline, that the essential nature of reality is bliss, and, knowing that, he finds himself one with reality, the completely educated being.

The purpose of education, therefore, according to the story of Bhrigu in the ' Taittiriya Upanishad,' is the realization of the divine in everything. The method of education is intense controlled search, not mere note-taking from another's search or note-takings. The materials of education are everything that concerns the substance and energy of things, the operation of the mind and its accumulations and verdicts, and through these life in its essence and fulness. Here, then, is the ground-plan of a complete education – physical, mental, emotional, spiritual.

Now the value to modern Indian education of such an epitome of educational philosophy, science and art lies, not in its Indian-ness or its ancient-ness, but in its truth ; and, because it is not the invention of a race or era, but a discovery (uncovering) of educational foundations laid of the nature of humanity, it is certain that somewhere else and at some other time, one could find similar expressions of reaction to the same truth if one had the time to search for them and the intelligence to recognise them. I have not had time for such research, but I have in my memory two examples of what I mean, one ancient, the other modern, both occidental. A glance at them will, I hope, make our own ground-planning all the more convincing.

Here is a translation of an invocation attributed to the third century Welsh bard, Taliesin, which might be used at the opening of the day's work in a school or college run in the Indian devotional spirit.

Grant, God ! protection,
And in protection strength,
And in strength perception,
And in preception knowledge,
And in knowledge the knowledge of truth,
And in the knowledge of truth the love of it,
And from the love of truth the love of being,
And from the love of all beings the love of God—
God and all godliness.

Careful attention to the order of the invocation shows that it restates the Upanishadic steps in education with certain suggestive extensions.

Protection and strength in the invocation are the old Druidical equivalents for the substance and energy of the Upanishad. Perception and knowledge are the exterior and interior aspects of the mental function (*manas*) of the Upanishad. The "knowledge" of the Upanishad is the "knowledge of truth" of the invocation. From knowledge of truth comes the love of it: to *jnan* (wisdom), which is of the mind, the Welsh poet adds *bhakti* (devotion), which is of the heart, even as the 'Bhagavad Gita' added devotion to intellection. From love of truth comes love of life, the true love of life at its highest. Love of life in all living beings passes into love of God, which is the Welsh equivalent of the *ananda* of the Upanishad; the ecstasy of union of the individual with the universal life; a truer rendering, I believe, of the meaning of *ananda* than the single word "bliss," which indicates an experience at a much lower level. Out of this union of mental and emotional realization comes not only the knowledge and love of God (Brahman, reality) but the love of the qualities pertaining to godhood, and necessarily their fulfilment in life.

Before I present the second occidental reaction to educational universals let me recall the curricular materials of the 'Taittiriya Upanishad.' They are *anna*, the substance of life: this is the biological aspect of education, the education of the physical body; *prana*, the energy of life; this is the physiological aspect of education, the education of the vital processes of the body that, in conjunction with the substantial aspect, produce the varieties of form and of groupings of forms; *manas* and *vijnan*, the awareness of life from the outside and from the inside: this is the psychological aspect of education, the education of the mind; *ananda*, satisfaction in being, the ultimate attainment of education, God-consciousness or Cosmic consciousness.

Turn now to the table of contents of a book written by an American educationist in 1903, but which it was my misfortune not to have read until recently - a misfortune which was perhaps good fortune inasmuch as my ignorance of this particular book, with its closeness to my own thought and experience, left my mind free to work out its own contemplation of educational essentials without intimidation by one who was an elder in experience. Dr. Herman Harrell Horne, then Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy in Dartmouth College, in the United States of America, in his small but packed book, "The Philosophy of Education," plans out his study as follows: Chapter I, The Field of Education; Chapter II, the Biological Aspect of Education; Chapter III, the Physiological Aspect of Education; Chapters IV

and V, the Sociological Aspect of Education; Chapters VI and VII, the Psychological Aspect of Education; Chapter VIII, the Philosophical Aspect of Education. The chapters lead by partial definitions up to the inclusive definition: "Education is the superior adjustment of a physically and mentally developed conscious human being to his intellectual, emotional and volitional environment," with the ultimate addendum that "the environment of man is God."

If we now place the list of ancient and modern educational essentials side by side we shall observe that they coincide in all but one respect—that is, if we set aside the modern educationist's Philosophical Aspect of Education as being here an approach to the understanding of the whole meaning of education, not a constituent of education.

EDUCATIONAL ESSENTIALS

Ancient	*Modern*
Ananda	Sociological
Vijnan	Psychological (subjective)
Manas	Psychological (objective)
Prana	Physiological
Anna	Biological

I have equated the ancient *ananda* with the modern sociological aspect of education for reasons that I must here make plain. Our modern educationist takes the sociological aspect of education to be concerned with the developing of the social or enlarged nature of the individual by "mentally re-living the race's life" (167). This mental re-living is done by the study of what is known (science), what is felt (arts), and what is willed (volitions, in history, law, morals). This purely mental conception of education, though it still persists, has been passed by later educational pioneers who are coming to regard man, not as only a thinking animal, but as a creative spirit. But the educational sociological idea of re-living the race's life seems to me to be just another way of saying that the student should realise his unity with the larger life in which he is immersed, which is the Upanishadic way of experiencing *ananda*. *Ananda*, the realization of the unity of life and the community of its forms, appears to me to be the central justification of and impulse to true social action; and true social action is the inescapable sequel of the realization of unity. *Ananda* is sociology seen from the inside in the characteristically oriental way; sociology is *ananda* seen from the

outside in the characteristically occidental way. Our American author speaks of happiness as consisting in the possession and use of one's full powers, which is the aim of education: "he knows the true,.....feels the beautiful.....wills the good" (240).

Thus ancient and modern, eastern and western, responses to educational necessity visualise the same constituents of the educational process, and give ratification and assurance to one another; and both give us the same view of the capacity-endowment of humanity—substance shaped as body, vital energy, mind outer and inner—which, coordinated in the individual, put the individual in vital contact with his environment, physical and super-physical, and thereby give that sense of enlargement which is the sign of the soul.

The view of the student now before us is that of an embodied consciousness, an entity consisting of body (in two aspects, substance and energy), through which life has elaborated human history and organization, and mind (in two aspects, objective and subjective), through which humanity has sought by observation and contemplation to discover and understand its environment.

But there is an implicit sub-division of these that gives us, when we recognise it, a break-away from the past towards the future. Mind has not only its objective and subjective directions in operation: it has also two distinct though interacting ways of approach towards the objective world for experiential data, and of expression of its subjective responses to objective experience—the way of thought and the way of feeling. These two channels of simultaneous take-and-give have been regarded in both oriental and occidental philosophy as activities of the mind. But the mind has become so closely, almost entirely, identified with thinking, that the feeling-function of humanity has not, until recently, received the attention it needs, and has not yet been taken fully into account in education.

This identification of the mind and thinking is right: thinking is etymologically the characteristic activity of the mind. But to extend the term mind to include feeling is wrong, is a false hospitality that has made feeling feel a dependent, even a servant, in another's house.

The process of feeling is as distinct from the process of thinking as both are from the process of willing and the process of doing; and education of the feeling-capacity as such is at least as necessary as mental education and physical education—though no phase of education can ever achieve its highest result if separated from the others.

The conviction is now being voiced among educationists that the education of the mind, to which attention has been almost exclusively given in the past both East and West, has been a failure, as shown by the wretched tale of human history and the present threatening state of human affairs the world over. It is felt that such failure has come about through the denial of the service of aspiration, compassion and beauty to life, these being the special offerings of the emotional capacity of humanity. For want of educated feeling—that is, feeling developed to its finest capacity of response to the impacts of life, and controlled by the inherent disciplines of feeling-expression in the arts—the universal instinctive stretch of human feeling towards enlargement of itself through religious aspiration has been turned from a mutually helpful search into the mutually hurtful animosities of sectarianism. The lack of educated feeling has stultified and distorted thought, and pressed certain phases of science through conceivably unnecessary cruelties; and has degraded the heroic possibilities of co-operative struggle towards finer conditions of life into the atavistic frenzy and ugliness of warfare.

Such convictions are now influencing experiments towards what has come to be called aesthetical education. But this term, like the mind, has its limitations. It is not a creation of educational necessity. It was coined by a German philosopher, Baumgarten, (1714—1762), to distinguish talk about beauty, and incidentally art, from other kinds of philosophical talk. It means looking at beauty from the outside, whereas the urgent necessity of education is to encourage and help the young to create beauty from the inside. It is good to see art-appreciation coming into University curricula, though not yet to any remarkable extent in India ; for appreciation tends to induce similar effort. But what the student, the future citizen, boy and girl, needs is the educational opportunity to express the inherent artist in every normal individual ; not necessarily to become a specialist or a genius —these will come, and will take care of themselves—but to be, to the utmost of their endowment, makers of loveliness and order, unity and harmony, in their characteristic forms, and to carry their artitistic influence into life.

This matter is so important that I shall consider it *in extenso* in another study, and shall confine myself now to a brief consideration of the educational significance of the other aspect of feeling, that is, aspiration, whose large scale historical expression is the religions.

Religion has been defined by a modern educationist ("Horne, " The Philosophy of Education ") as " the recognition in life of

the Ideal Person." The definition strikes the mean between the uncritical reception of revelation which nineteenth century science made difficult for questioning minds, and the materialistic rationalism which twentieth century science has made difficult for the successors of those questioning minds, or for minds like my own which survived the first era and retain their interrogative capacity in the present. The clash of these two forces of revelation and reason in human life—of valid incursions from beyond the horizon of normal experience and of criticism of the grounds of their validity—always observable in human history, has become more widely felt than ever before through the vast development of means of broadcasting knowledge and ideas from cathedral and church, from observatory and laboratory. This has brought uncertainty into the atmosphere in which youth finds its capacities seeking efflorescence, and this uncertainty is as marked in India as anywhere else.

It is not yet clear what the record of religious climatology is going to be in the near future; whether the blessing of abundant rain of inspiration and aspiration is going to draw a new fruitfulness out of life, or whether a failed monsoon is going to bring spiritual barrenness and poverty. I am on the side of hope. Whatever happens in the coming spiritual weather of mankind, I feel a movement of possibility in human nature which, if wisely influenced by education, can carry humanity beyond the danger of flood or famine to a condition of balance in which the sunlight of intellectual illumination, the pressure of creative expression, and the rainfall of critical cleansing, acting on the ground of human nature, can make the desert "rejoice and blossom as the rose."

Religion in education, like the philosophy, science and art of education, must rise out of educational necessity. If it is enforced from outside, if it becomes a creedal or sectarian power of a separating kind, it will only intensify the irreligious relationships of the religions today, and populate the earth with two main classes of individuals—those who flatly deny religion, and those who, for ulterior reasons, pretend to accept it, that is, sceptics on the one hand and hypocrites on the other. If, however, religion continues to be closed out of education, the result will only be a deeper depression of idealism and conduct than we have at present, and a state of barbarism more debased than that of the past because equipped with more potent means of mutual destruction.

The problem of religion in education is the problem of allowing fulfilment of the aspirational necessity that is in all normal

human beings, and at the same time recognising the worth and place of the organised religions as the historical expressions of man's response to and search for a reality felt to exist beyond the edge of normal human capacity and experience. The educational solution of the problem lies in the understanding of the full nature of the student, and the fulfilment of its necessities. What that nature is will have become clear to those who have followed our study thus far with the inner ear as well as with the outer. Here we have only to consider the aspirational capacity of the student.

We may put the matter of the emotional nature of which aspiration is a phase, into a couple of paragraphs.

Emotion is an expansive force, a tension of the psyche, which moves towards its fulfilment in two main directions.

In one direction emotion moves towards relieving its tension in objects fabricated by the individual. This is the way of art-expression, the objectifying of emotion in a form suitable to the endowment of the individual. We shall consider this phase in our next study.

In the other direction emotion seeks relief away from external objects by merging the being of the individual in the larger Life of the Universe. This is the way of religious aspiration, the stretching of the finite in human bonds towards its native infinity. The experience of this tension and the glimpsing of its satisfaction is common to all the religions, and is, in fact, the vital basis of their inner unity, despite the diversity of their expression of it, mentally in doctrine, dynamically in observance.

From the point of view, therefore, of a complete education, it is impossible to omit from it the means to the satisfaction of the aspirational hunger of the student. Education must include religion. There would be no necessity to stress this matter, even as there is no necessity to stress the matter of satisfying physical hunger, if the school and college had the same co-operation from the home in regard to the spiritual needs of the student as they have in regard to the physical needs. But parental attention is so anxiously occupied with the provision of the bodily needs of the children that it willingly delegates all but a ceremonial fraction of its religious responsibility to the educator. And yet, save in schools and colleges of a specifically religious character, there is little or no recognition of the fundamental spiritual necessity in general education in India or anywhere else. This omission is, I believe, one of the two prime causes of the descending

graph of reverence and discipline in large and growing numbers of the youth of India which is causing grave concern to those who have the higher interests of India at heart. The other cause is the general omission of creative expression in education.

Three objections are ordinarily made to religion in education. One comes from the side of education to the effect that education should be completely free from the tendency of the religions to separate people, and be left to deal only with the mind (and recently with the body) of the student. But if the recognition of the religious necessity which we have noted in the education of India in the past, and if the demand now being made for the complete education of the individual, are based on reality, as I am convinced they are, this objection would appear to have no validity. To maintain it on the ground of a separative tendency in religion is to maintain that no essential human activity on which humanity differs should be continued. This would reduce humanity to non-entity.

The second objection comes from the side of religion ; that is, the objection, in educational institutions under specifically religious control, to any form of religious expression other than that professed by the institution. This is an understandable position on the part of a particular faith. It is, as I see it, educationally unobjectionable while groups of humanity continue to express their aspiration in traditional forms, provided the impartation of education is not merely a propagandist expedient. It is, I feel, better that the religious necessity of humanity be separately expressed than not expressed at all. But obviously such religious reservation in an educational institution should apply only to members of its particular faith. If it invites members of other faiths to join its staff or roll, it should make provision for their religious necessity also.

The third objection comes from the side of educational authority, which holds that its duty is to be neutral in regard to religion, and construes religious neutrality as making no provision for the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of students on the ground of ceremonial and doctrinal differences. If religion is, as I believe, a fundamental human necessity, then the neutrality of exclusion is on the logical level of excluding food from a hostel on the ground of different ways and different tastes in food.

So far as I can realise the situation, looking at it purely from the point of view of educational necessity, I can find no really convincing case against religion in education. My own experience,

apart from speculative argument, has brought me to the conviction, already stated, that religion should be restored to the place it held of old in education in India. It has also brought me to a technique of religion as an integral part of general education that has in it, I believe, the possibility of solving the problem as between a universal human necessity and a historically evolved restriction. It is possible, as I know from daily experience as the head of a college and of both primary and secondary schools attended by students of the Hindu, Muslim and Christian faiths, to begin each day's work with an act of common aspiration that makes the day nobler and sweeter than it otherwise would be. There are in the literature of all the faiths expressions of aspiration so general that the followers of any other faith can reach out through them towards the universal Being. If a visitor from another planet heard a group of students chant the following general aspiration at the beginning of a day's work, and was asked to guess what religion it belonged to, he would have to be specially endowed in the sense of separateness to be able to give the right answer.

> Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be
> Thy name. Thy kingdon come.
> Teach us the path on which Thy blessing rests.
> May we be blessed with enduring strength. May
> Our studies bring us spiritual illumination.
> May there be perfect harmony among us.

I wonder how many humans, not to mention the planetary visitor, recognise that this prayer for the establishment on earth of heavenly conditions, for guidance in life, and for wisdom, illumination and harmony, is composed of passages taken out of the religions of Christianity, Islam and Hinduism ?

But besides this general aspiration, with its purifying effect on the emotional atmosphere, students should, where necessary, have instruction in the tenets and observances of their faith, and should also, I suggest, have some indication of similar tenets in other faiths. In the College curriculum there should be periods for the comparative study of the religions.

To me there is no doubt as to the beneficial effect of religion wisely included in education, or of the unifying effect that joint general aspiration and sympathetically disposed study of the religions would, through the students when they become adults, ultimately have on the social life of humanity. And I feel equally certain that an education which made religion one of its integral parts would itself exercise a beneficial effect on the relationships

between the religions by evoking a spirit of reverence towards life in all its phases of wonder and beauty, a reverence that would surmount the divisions that thought and feeling tend to set up, and bring the religions nearer each other in essentials and in joint effort to apply their common fundamentals to the solution of the pressing problems of daily life. It was such a fully rounded out education, in which reverence had its place, that Froebel had in mind when he wrote that "education should lead and guide a man to knowledge of himself and of humanity, to a knowledge of God and nature, and to the pure and holy life to which such knowledge leads."

And now, in conclusion, we may lay out the ground-plan of the education of the future, a plan which includes the educational essentials realised by contemplation and practice in the past in India, ratified by world-wide scientific research in the present.

For the development of the complete capacity-endowment of the individual for (1) action, (2) cognition, (3) emotion, and (4) intuition, in their (a) out-turned and (b) in-turned directions, education should include:

1a) Individual action and organisation, informed by biology, hygiene, etc., and exercised by physical culture and games;
b) Group action and organisation, informed by history and sociology, and exercised by civic activity;
2a) Observation, informed by pure science and scientific history, and exercised by applied science;
b) Contemplation, informed by philosophical history, and exercised by personal thought;
3a) Creative expression, informed by art-study, and exercised by personal participation in arts and crafts;
b) Aspiration, informed by the study of religion, and exercised by religious practice;
4a) Inspiration, informed by the lives of geniuses and creators, and exercised by personal effort;
b) Illumination, informed by the lives of seers and saints, and exercised by spiritual discipline and meditation.

The education of the past has responded in part to these needs of the growing individual; the education of the present is troubled by inadequacies transmitted from the past mixed with the growing realisation of present and future needs; the education of the future will pass on into completeness, and lift the long struggle of humanity against its own futilities into the triumph and peace of attainment.

The Place of Art in Education.

NOTWITHSTANDING the high value that Indian thought from time immemorial has set on objects of art as helps towards spiritual culture, art never got an integral place in either the Hindu, Buddhist or Mussulman curricula.* The artist was trained, but not educated. The artistic product was more esteemed than its human producer. Even now, at any rate in South India, we acknowledge the ecstasy that the musician creates in us by giving him a garland in the auditorium—and his food on the pial if his name-termination on earth does not permit his having it with those whom by his art he has lifted to heaven.

Plato did recognise creative art in education, though he was rough on certain of the poets. But between him and the twentieth century educational thought in the Occident took little or no thought for art. Herbert Spencer, with all the cheek that mere brain can show, turned it away from the emotional nature of the student.

Even as near our time as 1917, an American educationist, Dr. H. H. Horne, in "The Philosophy of Education," had to confess that aesthetical education "is the most neglected feature of our curriculum, and yet it stands as an essential constituent of the child's present and future environment, and is the product of one of the deepest phases of the human consciousness."

It is not far from certain that the neglect of an essential human constituent in the preparing of the young for life will lead to a menacing lop-sidedness in the individuals and in the social organism which they collectively make up; that is to say, it is fairly certain that the neglect of art in education has led to the appallingly inartistic life of humanity and to that most inartistic and inhuman of human activities, warfare.

The problems of human life cannot, we may confidently assert, be solved, and humanity set free from its sub-human obsessions, until a radical change has been effected in the general attitude and way of living. And this can only be done completely by an education that is itself complete in bringing the impulses and desires of humanity under educative self-discipline equally with the mental and actional capacities of the individual.

There is a vague recognition of the need of emotional education in the phrase that is so often used when all else has failed—

" What is needed is a change of heart," the utterer usually waiting for the others to do the changing. But the mere sentimentality that the phrase expresses is a feeble thing beside the urges of feeling-necessity. What is needed is (to use a suggestive figure of speech that is becoming healthily frequent in educational literature) the " canalising " of the floods of emotion, that is, the putting of them under control in definite directions, to the vitalising of thought and action, instead of letting them work havoc on their way to futility or to disappearance in " the dreary desert sand of dead habit." The digging of canals in young clay is a much easier matter than blasting them through old rocks. The canalising of the creative impulse in childhood and youth by art is the only educational wisdom.

In a recent article on " Peace and Education," Dr. Maria Montessori puts this idea in her clear calm way. Touching on the central element in the present world-crisis, the threat of war, she asserts that " the cause of war does not lie in armaments, but in the men who make use of them." The foundational need of the crisis, therefore, in her view—a view which I heartily share, though I do not think that armaments are as innocent as she believes—is an education that will allow humanity to grow up with " a healthy soul, enjoying the full development of a strong character and a clear intellect." This means a complete education ; an education based on the assurance, now strengthened by observation, that its completeness will lead humanity away from the manifest anarchy produced by a selfish and predatory education to an instinctive order subjectively imposed on human life by the authority of its own higher nature.

Dr. Montessori's reference to " a healthy soul.....strong character.....clear intellect " is not a casual phrase: it is the essence of her experience as an educator. It is her response to the inescapable triangle of external human capacities which we uncovered in our previous study—the emotional capacity through which the soul-ful qualities of aspiration and creative expression unfold and realise themselves ; the dynamic capacity through which the attainments and qualities of the other capacities are fused into the synthetical revelation of character; and the cognitive capacity which observes and contemplates the phenomena of experience gained through feeling and doing.

The most essential of these is the soul. For while the processes of thought and action are related to subjective and objective time and space, and undergo modification that is sometimes felt by the inner nature of the best human spirits to be slower than a crisis demands, as at present in world-affairs, the processes of the deeper psychological capacity called by

Dr. Montessori the soul have the immediateness of intuition. Thus, in relation to the problem of war, the cognitive capacities of the heads of various nations are working out pacts and alliances ; but their faith in these as preventives of warfare is not absolute, for their dynamic capacity is busy in preparations for feared conflict. But, says Dr. Montessori, "War would not be a problem at all for the soul of the new man; he would *see* it simply as a barbarous state, contrasting with civilisation, an absurd and incomprehensible phenomenon."

She declares that "to conquer war, a sincere and inspired voice would be enough, crying, like Jonah : Be ye converted and repent, or Nineveh shall be destroyed." But the succession of inspired voices that have called on humanity to be sorry for their misdeeds and to turn against them, and have had no better reply than the state of alleged civilisation to-day, does not appear to confirm Dr. Montessori's optimistic confidence. We are, I feel, nearer actual possibility in her declaration of her discovery that the child, educated in the true way, is "a passionate lover of order and work."

If we put the declaration the other way round, that the child who is liberated through a complete education is a passionate lover of *work* and *order*, we have a statement of a law of human life that is therefore a law of education—the law that life perpetually seeks expression through human activity, and simultaneously safeguards itself against dissipation in futility by imposing on action, and by imparting to the objective results of action, the orderliness of intention, design and unity.

This love of work and order is not only true of children who have had the opportunity of free expression : it has been found to be equally true of youths whose activities have been diverted into delinquency and social disorderliness. Given the opportunity to express the energy of life through the order-inducing media of art-crafts, they have recovered the fundamental human necessity of work and order which Dr. Montessori and other wise experimentists in education have observed, and have been transformed into happy and useful citizens.

This being so, it looks as if the swing of the educational pendulum from cramming towards the satisfaction of the real needs of embodied life had only got half-way when it determined to be strictly etymological and set about in good earnest e-ducing the capacities of the individual. It is possible that *conscious* e-ducing (trying to pull out powers whose qualities and ratios of interaction are far from clear to even the most sensitive educator) may be a subtle frustration of the real business that wears the disguise of the word education. What life apparently asks is not

for good-hearted people to stand in its way offering it enticements to being *led forth*, but to have its way cleared of obstructions to its own choice among the paraphernalia of *work* and *order*.

This would seem to mean a handing over of education to childish anarchy. There is, no doubt, as much risk of disturbance to the settled habits and notions of the elder generation, that stands in front of the younger and talks rhetorically of youth being the future, in a sudden change from bad to good as from good to bad.

There is, of course, no risk of such suddenness in educational organisation and method evident anywhere. But the anarchy is with us even now, as seen in an honest look at the state of the world, and an equally honest look at the physique, character, habits, feelings and mental stamina of a too large proportion of the youth of India who are undergoing education today. Dr. L. P. Jacks, whose experience and thought place his utterances as nearly beyond dispute as any utterance can be, lays the responsibility for the disorder in human life today at the door of education in his book, "The Education of the Whole Man." He says: "...the practice of perfection is not initiated by learning the three Rs nor by anything which proceeds from these useful acquisitions. It begins much deeper down, in acquisitions which should be called 'elemental' rather than 'elementary.' For want of a good sound 'elemental' education which aims at developing the fundamental virtue of self-control.....democracy is moving towards a disaster which elementary education of the book-say and hear-say type will rather hasten than avert."

That "sound elemental education" is, as Dr. Jacks claims, the education of the whole individual as a creator. "The whole man is," he asserts, "a creator. Educate him in his wholeness as such, and the inner vacancy of his being, which hungers for creation, and can never be satisfied with anything else, will be filled."

Now this naming of man as creator (and of course man is here taken as the *homo*, the human being irrespective of sex) is just putting into another form of expression Dr. Montessori's declaration that the liberated child is a lover of work and order. For creation is orderly work—something done, and done under the laws of its own being. These laws are, in some way as yet beyond our analysis, based in nature, and affiliated with universal law. Liberation through creation is therefore the sure way to individual happiness through the release of inevitable creative tension into inevitable conditions governing creative forms, conditions that, because they are the inevitable means to

happy achievement, are accepted, and in their acceptance induce in the creator of them " the fundamental virtue of self-control."

" This means that art " (to state in Dr. Jacks' words what I have often stated in my own) " art (always understood in its catholic sense as the most excellent doing of what needs to be done) must find a larger and more central place in educational practice. It means that increased weight must be thrown into awaking and training the sense of beauty, the greatest of our lost inheritances, but the best of all prophylactics against vice, the most vitalising and uplifting of all the positive motives that interest and actuate the whole man....." Dr. Jacks' declaration expresses the two main influences of art-expression on human nature—as preventive of vice in all its forms, and as a curative agent (therapeutic) where vice is already active.

The therapeutic influence of art-expression is useful in the present diseased state of humanity. But the mere application of remedial measures to enable a diseased individual to recover the capacity to repeat the actions that produced the disease, will not lead humanity to any kind of health. The ultimate need is a true prophylactic—not the ingestion or injection of foreign entities into the emotional stream to create a state of armed neutrality oscillating between periods of warfare between themselves and other foreign entities; but the clear-ridding of the imagination, the emotions, and their mental and physical collaborators, of every disease-producing element, through leaving them open to the detergent flood of inspiration and illumination from the lofty springs of man's higher nature that finds its true outlet in the arts.

This process—and it puts a complete education into a sentence—carried out to any degree, will inevitably be accompanied by some degree of beauty. But beauty is not its objective. The pursuit of beauty can itself become a pander to sensuality. It is thus exploited the world over to-day in the service of rapacious and ruthless commercialism. Art in education is not a merely aesthetical matter. It is, in the profoundest sense of the term, a spiritual necessity, and, in the profoundest sense of the term, a spiritualising power.

In the application of art in education as a curative and preventive agent, it is necessary to observe the quality and quantity of the application as in the science and art of medicine. It was, for example, no mere whim that caused the Vedic *dharma* to forbid secular music to the *grihasta* (householder). The wise men and women of old knew that there are tendencies in human nature which need no artificial stimulation. It would be well for humanity today if those in authority, particularly in education,

would recognise and act upon the fact that the present increasing subjection of adolescent youth to the impacts of triviality, vulgarity and sensuality in popular entertainment and cheap publications is merely striking matches among combustibles. This is the most general and most obvious misapplication of art in life.

But there are more subtle possibilities of the misapplication of art in education. Music is obviously one of the most potent influences on the human sensorium. In India, speaking generally, it is less liable to misapplication than anywhere else, since it is almost universally of a religious nature in its theme, and challenging to the attention by its scientific interest--though there is the risk of the influence of music becoming dulled by over-familiarity and by technical degradation through lack of intelligent teaching of it in schools. Recent efforts to raise music in India and to spread intelligent, as distinct from conventional, appreciation of it, are all to the good. But the teachers themselves have much to learn, one vital matter being that the appalling raucous voices of Indian singers, and their agonised facial expressions due to wrong production, are disrespectful to Saraswati Devi.

In other countries than India the sensuous-emotional appeal of music is most prominent. The ratio of sentimentality in occidental song is far beyond that of other elements. In my young days, as an acceptable drawing-room tenor, trained after the best continental methods, I had the greatest difficulty in finding songs on any theme but a treacly caricature of real human love. School singing has therefore to be carefully selected. Even orchestral music has to be watched: for it is an observed fact that certain tones, intervals and successions of sound exert a pull towards either the higher capacities of humanity that work through the cerebral system, or the lower capacities that work through the neural and generative systems. Indian music recognised this ages ago.

The gramophone can be made a most useful adjunct to the teaching of music in schools--not (as I have seen it used with disastrous results on the aesthetical nature and vocal tone of children) by having students follow songs by some of the crow-voiced vocalists whose already bad voices are made worse by the nasal exaggeration of machinery, but by having good records made like the set by Sir Walford Davies giving four-minute lectures on the nature and development of melody. These, augmented by remarks from the teacher, and further demonstrated by appropriate additional examples of certain *ragas* (scales) and *talams* (times), would help to build up taste and knowledge.

Discrimination is equally necessary in literary forms of self-expression. The writing of verse is, as I know from experience since I was a lad, a very satisfying and purifying means of release

to the emotional nature. But I am always thankful that my earliest contacts with English poetry were first through good chosen pieces in my school-books and later through the masters. I had therefore developed my inner resistance to the vicious and inferior uses of the verbal art that later became widespread in English writing. Indian youth has need of a similar release, but the way to it is obstructed by the false allurements of English in Indian education. In many, if not most, of the alleged poems that Indian young men send to me for correction, foreword and introduction to some world-wide publishing house, there is hardly ever a line of sensible prose, let alone poetry. There is aspiration of a most desirable kind in such productions, but its expression is destroyed by a verbal medium that is utterly foreign to the genius of India. The most pathetic of these efforts are the imitations of Rabindranath Tagore's prose translations of his creations in elaborate Bengali poetry, for they disclose a woeful insensitiveness to the reality of Tagore's poetry, and a lamentable renunciation of creative initiative. The cure for this state of affairs is in the vernacularisation of education, and the giving to the students of their own true verbal means of expression.

Story-telling is a form of verbal release that might be usefully developed in education. But there is story-telling and story-telling. The *shanachies* of Ireland (public raconteurs) gave out gloriously preposterous yarns that made no pretension to realistic exactitude but expanded the imaginative capacity of teller and hearer. The novel of today is, in the ultimate analysis, an evil, for it exaggerates life, and by artificial emphases creates artificial reactions that ultimately take the place of true experience. Fiction founded on fact is one of the causes of falsity in human relationships today: it fulfils itself by completing the vicious circle and becoming "fact" founded on fiction. I read stories about India when I was in America that made my blood boil with their wicked distortions and implications. Their excuse was that they were only stories, and that Americans wrote just as distorted stories of their own people. But I observed that, while the American reader knew that the American story was only a story, he took the other stories to be reflections of India's complete life—whereas they had no more relationship to life than the talkies that come to India from America have to the vast complex of American life. The only true imaginative appeal to the mind is that which is truly imaginative; that is, which makes a true image of truth; which is, in a word, symbolical, making the transient image an imaginative *x* equalling something beyond itself, never wholly identified with itself. Novels make personal and transient matters appear universal and

permanent. They are always caricatures, and often libels. The best imaginative material for youth is that which is obviously fabulous, for it cannot deceive. A little girl on a steamer who, in my hearing, asked her mother, as a preparation for going to bed, to read her a fairy-tale instead of a "stupid true story," voiced the imaginative need of all childhood, and also of all adults who have not been sophisticated out of their true nature as creative spirits to the sub-human level of mere gregarious and articulate appetites, physical, mental and emotional.

The virtue of individual expression is the releasing of impulses which, if pent up, will find subterranean outlets under pressure and in descending directions. The daily item of art-activity in school is, where it exists, a daily discharge of complexes which leads to a true, and at present rare, normality of life. The vice, on the other hand, of individual art-expression is a possible excess of development to the extent of exaggerating valuable personal characteristics into merely peculiar idiosyncracies; of distorting a natural bent into an unnatural pose, and degrading a healthy self-evaluation into an unhealthy self-conceit.

Art-activity in education should, therefore, be accompanied by the study of the best works in the various arts, and by frank and informed criticism that will lead the student towards attainment of the intuitive sense of values known as taste. The lack of such taste in India today is one of the tragedies of cultural decline. Yet the age-long sensitiveness of India to the best things in art is, I believe, only under the surface waiting the chance and encouragement to assert itself. I saw this happen once when I gave an exhibition of Indian paintings in a city that shall be nameless. I resented the intrusion of an incongruous exhibit, but was held back from drastic action by the fact that the person who insisted on putting it in a prominent position was the chief patron of the function under whose auspices the exhibition was given. I gave a lecture on The History and Characteristics of Indian Painting on the first night of the occasion, with lantern illustrations and references to the lovely Indian paintings on the walls of the hall. Next morning the incongruity had disappeared. The exhibitor had himself taken it away. He had had an illumination as to what both art in general and Indian art in particular stood for, and would never again mistake a greasy, artificial oil-painting for a work of art.

Schools and colleges should have ready access to art-museums. Where this is not possible, collections of good copies of pictures and statues should be made and studied. Educational authorities should organise peripatetic exhibitions from town to town accompanied by a lecturer. All this means the provision of

materials and the evolution of a new type of teacher. It also means expense, and the question, How can such expenditure be even begun to be thought of in face of word-wide financial depression? The answer to that question is, that financial depression is the sequel of circumstances—false economic relationships between individuals and groups, the destruction of immense wealth in the world-war, and the wastage of still more wealth in the preparations for the "next war"—circumstances that could not have arisen if the education of the young had not produced generations of unbalanced, self-centred, pugnacious individuals, instead of all-round, co-operatively disposed, and peace-willing human beings such as would be produced by an education in which ~~education~~ creative was an integral item. Expenditure on art in education is an investment that in two generations would liquidate the world's national debts.

For the development of collective expression, of co-operative creative activity which is the best corrective of the vices of individual expression, drama, I think, stands supreme. The individual arts tend to foster an illusory sense of separateness. Drama expresses the individual in relationship with other individuals. It unconsciously inculcates the natural law of the inter-dependence of all the partial embodiments of the complete idea of the Cosmic Dramatist. It lets none, not even the least, of its characters down ; for if it makes the expression of A. dependent on the evocative impacts of B. and the others, it equally makes the expression of B. and the others depend on the evocative impacts of A. It is true that, as has been proverbially said, there could be no play of "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark: it is equally true that, without the rest of the characters of the play, not excluding the grave-digger, the Prince could not exist.

Moreover, drama is made specially potent as collective discipline-expression in being a synthesis of the arts—the art of painting in its stage-setting, of sculpture in the personal figures on the stage, of design in their relationship with one another and with the setting, of dance in their movements, of poetry and music in their speech. It is also a discipline-expression in making individual thought and feeling subordinate yet at the same time essential to the complete idea of the drama. It is also collectively valuable in calling out the co-operative efforts of various groups in providing the necessaries for the complete production.

In India, unfortunately, the use of drama in education is hampered by a social inhibition that strikes at the root of full human expression in drama, the inhibition of the co-operative activity of both sexes. This leads to the monstrosity of young men with deep voices and big hands playing the parts of women, and having to overcome the incongruities of their physique by

inartistic exaggeration of supposed female traits and actions. The result is a travesty that ruins the whole presentation. Where boys are cast for female parts because of some natural fineness suggesting femininity, the result is frequently disastrous in the stimulating of perverted sexual desire in other boys which leads to physical and mental infirmity and to a steepening of the grade of degradation of the idea of womanhood which has recently set in among youth in India through the importation of debased film-presentations of life elsewhere, and now through Indian-made concessions to the male eroticism that exploits sex for gain. Until this cultural banality is got rid of, India will deny herself the educative value of the drama in its fullness. Some share of its possibilities may, however, be got by plays written for male characters only, or female characters only.

The manual arts—painting, carving, sculpturing, designing, and the like—are probably the most effective means of expression for adolescent youth, as they are as free as anything human can be from exaggerated appeal to erotic desire, and provide the most impersonal media for the pure realisation of personal impulses and capacities.

I return, by way of conclusion, to the main thesis of these studies in education, namely, that the flaw in education today is its incompleteness in not catering for the full emotional nature of humanity which is expressed in religion and the arts. Others put it otherwise. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his Convocation Address to the Allahabad University in November 1934, said: "There is a remarkable agreement among educationists today that the system of education requires drastic revision from the foundation to the flagpole. It is out of date and unsuited to moderm conditions, and involves a colossal waste of intellect and energy." With this I fully agree. But the statement carries important implications. That which grows out of date does so because it was created to fulfil the requirements of a former date. Nothing that is ultimate ever becomes obsolete. If education is now going to be changed merely to suit the needs of our date, it also will become out-of-date, and the more rapidly because of the rapidity of change today. Education is wrong, not merely because it does not fulfil superficial human necessity today, but because it has not got to fundamentals. It will always be wrong until it does so. And while education is wrong, the conditions of life will be wrong. From this vicious circle there is no escape around its circumference. There is escape only in ascending and viewing its essentials, that is, the nature and complete educational needs of the student. India visualised those needs in the past; educational science has developed that vision towards completeness; it remains for educational administration to fulfil it.

A Charter of Education. *

1. The complete work of education is the development of all the powers of the individual—intuitive, affective, cognitive, active—to their highest capacity, and the setting of the developing individual in intelligent and creative relationship with his and her environment, mundane and extra-mundane.

2. Every individual born into a community has a claim on that community to be well educated. For good education the community receives, in good citizenship, more than it gives in good education, as the cultivator receives more than he sows. Education shall therefore be universal and free.

3. Education, in order to be effective, that is, to produce good citizens, must have good human material to work on. Every individual born into a community has a claim on that community to be well born in order to be well educated. The parents of students shall be educated *as* parents so as to transmit the highest possible potentialities to their children. Good birth and good education will incalculably enrich the community. There shall therefore also be universal and free adult education.

4. Every individual thus well born and well educated has a claim on the community for adequate opportunity to use his and her developed powers. These powers, released according to the students' endowments and tastes into the vocations of the community, are its greatest asset. Their full and beneficent use is the source of the community's truest wealth and the individual's truest happiness. Every individual shall therefore be well employed.

5. There are therefore three fundamental *rights* of the individual:

   (1) The right to be well born, (2) the right to be well educated, (3) the right to be well employed.

   These three fundamental rights imply for the individual three fundamental duties: (1) The duty to take advantage of available knowledge of the laws of good birth; (2) the duty to take advantage of available opportunities of education; (3) the duty to render the best possible service to the community. When the rights are granted by the community, the duties will be automatically fulfilled by the individuals.

6. There are consequently three fundamental *duties* of the community.

   (1) The duty to provide its citizens with the conditions for being well born; (2) the duty to provide its citizens with the means to be well educated; (3) the duty to provide its citizens with the opportunity to be well employed.

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* From "A Study in Synthesis" Ch. VIII, P. 472, Ganesh & Co., Thambu Chetty St., Madras, Rs. 3

These three fundamental duties imply three fundamental rights:

(1) The right to expect from its citizens good material; (2) the right to expect from its citizens good development; (3) the right to expect from its citizens good service. When the duties are fulfilled by the community the rights will automatically be satisfied by the individuals. The duty lies first with the community, for while its citizens come and go, it remains.

7. These rights and duties do not apply to any special section of the community or any special faculty of the individual. They apply as between the community as a whole and the whole individual.

8. The organization which shall be the means of conferring these rights and fulfilling these duties as between the community and the citizen shall itself be responsive to both. It shall not serve any special section of the community, or any special faculty of the student, save in the adjustment of each in their highest and most beneficent operation by the best possible means. It shall be a true university, not a sectarian school.

9. The World-University thus constituted shall undertake the whole of education from birth to death. It shall assure the well-being of its future students through the education, health and employment of the parents. It shall assure the well-being of its future parents through the good education of its present students.

All separate and overlapping educational organizations shall become members of the World-University, attuning themselves to one mental conception, one emotional attitude, one method of service.

10. The mental conception of the World-University is *unity*. The conception of unity is based on the truth (felt in world-religion, created in world-art, expounded in world-philosophy, demonstrated by world-science, exemplified by world-commerce) that the nature and process of the universe, the community and the individual are the same; that each is endowed with substance, form and vitality, and has the capacity of acting, thinking, feeling, creating, aspiring, and of responding to inspiration and attaining illumination.

11. The emotional attitude of the World-University is *love*. The attitude of love is based on the truth that universal, communal or individual integrity can only be maintained by the predominance of the principle of cohesion and affinity over such activities as make for antagonism and disruption.

12. The method of service of the World-University is *liberation*. The method of liberation is based on the truth that all the endowments and capacities of the individual are for the service of the universal purpose, the communal good and individual happiness. Incomplete liberation has heretofore led to individual and collective disorder. Complete liberation will ultimately produce complete order through the guidance of action to creative ends by reason and love.

13. The environment with which the World-University will place its graduates in beneficent relationship is a world-environment; but it will be approached by natural stages—family, local, cultural, religious, national, international, super-national. The restrictions of outlook which may be natural to one stage will be corrected by the broader outlook of the next stage.

14 The teaching staff of the World-University will consist both of such individuals as are specially endowed as educators and those specially qualified for the impartation of knowledge of particular subjects, and also of its students, the seniors of whom will, as an essential part of their own education, serve the juniors in such manner as their attainments allow.

15. The curriculum of the World-University, which well embody the principles expressed and implied in this Charter, will be applied in four stages:

(*a*) the school stage, in which the complete capacities of the student will be educated; (*b*) the college stage, in which the special capacities and predilections of the student, which have revealed themselves in the school stage, will be given special attention with a view to the future service of the community in vocation; (*c*) the post-graduate stage, in which the student will acquire a broad synthetical culture before entering on his and her vocation; (*d*) the adult stage of continued acquisition of knowledge and development of faculty.

OPINIONS

OF

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BY

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